

English Language Institute, University of Michigan, 10 March 2008

Collocational analysis as a gateway to critical discourse analysis

**The case of the construction of refugees,
asylum seekers and immigrants in the UK press**

Costas Gabrielatos
Lancaster University, UK

Abstract

This paper presents an analysis of discourses surrounding the representation of minority groups in newspapers and demonstrates how this discourse in turn constructs these groups' identity. The analysis took place in the context of a project looking at the representation of refugees and asylum seekers in UK newspapers. A corpus was built for the purposes of this study and comprises 140 million words (175,000 articles from 15 UK newspapers), spanning 1996-2005. The paper focuses on the contribution of corpus research to (critical) discourse analysis and, more specifically, on the collocational analysis of the words *refugees*, *asylum seekers*, *immigrants* and *migrants* (RASIM). It does so by developing the notion of *consistent collocates* (akin to *key keywords*; i.e. collocates present in at least seven out of the ten annual sub-corpora). Collocations are a suitable vehicle for the discursive presentation of a group, because they can contribute to "a semantic analysis of a word" (Sinclair, 1991), and because "they can convey messages implicitly and even be at odds with an overt statement" (Hunston, 2002). The analysis also employs the related notions of semantic preference, semantic prosody, and discourse prosody. The clustering of consistent collocations provides evidence of systematic semantic associations as well as metaphors commonly employed in racist discourse. Arguably, these patterns reveal elements of the underlying discourses relating to RASIM.

The presentation draws on work carried out for the ESRC funded project, *Discourses of refugees and asylum seekers in the UK Press 1996-2006* (October 2005 - March 2007).

The project combined Corpus Linguistics (CL) and the Discourse-Historical Approach to Critical Discourse Analysis (DHA-CDA).

Principal Investigator: Paul Baker (CL)

Co-investigators: Tony McEnery (CL)
Ruth Wodak (DHA-CDA)

Researchers: Costas Gabrielatos (CL)
Majid KhosraviNik (DHA-CDA)
Michal Krzyzanowski (DHA-CDA)

Link with other CL aspects of the project

- Differences between the representation in broadsheets and tabloids.
- Overlap in terms of ...
 - phraseology surrounding *RASIM*
 - semantic/discourse prosodies (in)directly relating to *RASIM*
 - stance towards *RASIM*
- Differences are in terms of degree:
 - Positive stance mainly in broadsheets; negative stance more in tabloids, but more balanced than positive stance.
 - Instances of mixed presentation: articles reporting the drowning/suffocating of refugees while trying to enter the UK also contain (in)direct references to their 'illegality'.
- Examination of the frequency/use of specific collocations and expressions in individual newspapers can provide a way to quantify 'quality' in the press.
- A B/T distinction is helpful, but has to be seen as scalar, rather than either/or.

(Baker, et al. 2008; Gabrielatos, 2006; Gabrielatos & Baker, 2006a, 2006b, 2008)

Findings from relevant study

(Baker & McEnery, 2005)

Refugees commonly described in terms of:

- ❑ provenance
- ❑ temporary residence
- ❑ destination
- ❑ quantity
- ❑ movement
- ❑ plight

Asylum seekers frequently linked to:

- ❑ issues of legislation related to immigration
- ❑ problems allegedly stemming from their presence in the host country
- ❑ would-be / illegal / unsuccessful immigrants

Focus of analysis

- ❑ Consistent collocates of *refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants, migrants (RASIM)*.
- ❑ C-collocates shared by the four terms - particularly between *RAS* and *IM*.
- ❑ Categorisation of c-collocates informed by *topoi, topics* or *metaphors* recognised in CDA (DHA).
(Reisigl & Wodak, 2001; Sedlak, 2000; van Leuven, 1996; Wodak & van Dijk, 2000).
- ❑ Overlap of c-collocate categories between *RASIM*.
- ❑ C-intercollocations between the terms, *refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants, migrants* .

The RASIM Corpus (1996-2005)

Articles: 175,139

Words: 139,510,037

Sub-corpora:

- *per newspaper*
- *broadsheets/tabloids*
- *per year*

Business
Evening Standard
Express
Daily Mail + Mail on Sunday
Daily Mirror + Sunday Mirror
Guardian + Observer
Herald
Independent + Independent on Sunday
Liverpool Echo
People
Star
Sun
Telegraph + Sunday Telegraph
Times + Sunday Times

(Gabrielatos, 2007)

The Query

- *refugee* OR *asylum* OR *deport** OR *immigr** OR *emigr** OR *migrant* OR *illegal alien* OR *illegal entry* OR *leave to remain* AND NOT *deportivo* AND NOT *department*
- Derived on the basis of two tests:
 - Keywords in the pilot corpus as compared to two general corpora (BNC, FLOB).
 - Relative relevance of key and other intuitively identified terms to the core query (*refugee** OR *asylum seeker**).

(Gabrielatos, 2007)



Informing concepts (1)

Collocation

- ❑ Collocation is the above chance co-occurrence of two word forms within a pre-specified span (Sinclair, 1991).
 - ❑ It is a formal relation.
 - ❑ The strength and statistical significance of the co-occurrence are statistically calculated.
 - ❑ The calculation takes into account the frequencies of the *node* (the word in focus), the collocate, and the collocation.
- ❑ Collocational network (Phillips, 1989)
 - ❑ Shared collocates of *RASIM*.
 - ❑ Intercollocation: pairwise collocations between the terms in focus (*RASIM*).

Informing concepts (2)

Semantic preference

- ❑ The relation “between a lemma or word form and a set of semantically related words” (Stubbs 2001, 65).
- ❑ Can be seen as the semantic extension of collocation.
- ❑ The examination of the contextual meaning of strong collocates can provide “a semantic analysis of a word” (Sinclair, 1991: 115-116).
- ❑ Semantic preferences of *RASIM* index the concepts, topics and issues routinely associated with them (see also Phillips, 1989).

Informing concepts (3)

Semantic/discourse prosody

- ❑ Collocation patterns “are often unavailable to intuition or conscious awareness. They can convey messages implicitly and even be at odds with an overt statement” (Hunston, 2002: 109).
- ❑ ***Semantic prosody*** (Louw, 1993)
- ❑ ***Discourse prosody*** (Stubbs, 2001).
- ❑ The “consistent aura of meaning with which a form is imbued by its collocates” (Louw, 1993: 157).
- ❑ “A semantic prosody is attitudinal and on the pragmatic side of the semantics/ pragmatics continuum” (Sinclair, 1996: 87, also Stubbs, 2001: 66).
- ❑ Contextually determined.
- ❑ Index attitudes and evaluative stance towards *RASIM*.

Informing concepts (4)

Topics, topoi, metaphors

- ❑ **Topic:** The subject matter of the discussion (Sedlak 2000, 129-130)
- ❑ **Topoi:** “Conclusion rules that connect the argument with the conclusion” (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001: 74–76).
- ❑ Topoi are framed within discourse units of a compatible topic, and are frequently embodied in metaphors.
- ❑ Used to refine categories emerging from concordance analysis.

Interrelations of informing concepts: The argument

- Semantic/discourse prosodies can help create a *topos* (i.e. lead the reader from premise to conclusion without explicit argumentation), in that the reader is more likely to attend to the connotational or evaluative level of specific frequent collocations (e.g. *swarms of refugees*), or, in other words, accept the metaphor rather than engage critically with it.
- This seems more likely if we consider that frequency of a semantic prosody is usually far greater than that of the different collocation patterns which embody or give rise to it (e.g. illegality: *bogus asylum seekers, illegal immigrants*).

Interrelations of informing concepts: An example

- ❑ *Topos of number*: RASIM come in inordinate numbers and are, therefore, a problem or threat (Sedlak, 2001).
- ❑ *Topos of burdening/weighing down*: “if a person, an institution or a ‘country’ is burdened by specific problems, one should act in order to diminish these burdens” (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001: 78).
- ❑ Both topoi can be supported and reinforced by the use of ‘quantity’ or ‘group’ collocations, embodying ‘water’ or ‘war/crime’ metaphors (e.g. *flood/river/tide/wave of refugees; army/hordes/gangs of refugees*), which give rise to negative semantic/discourse prosodies related to their inordinate number, and, therefore, threat.
- ❑ Further connections can be made with the *topos of definition*: “if an action, a thing or a person (group of persons) is named/ designated (as) X, the action, thing or person (group of persons) carries or should carry the qualities/ traits/ attributes contained in the (literal) meaning of X” (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001: 76).

A problem with the collocation analysis

- ❑ The RASIM corpus is diachronic.
- ❑ Some newspapers were unavailable between 1996-2000.
- ❑ Extracting collocates from the whole corpus can be expected to include a large number of 'seasonal collocates'.
- ❑ Confirmed by collocational analysis of annual sub-corpora.

Term	1 year only	Up to 2 years	Up to 3 years	Up to 4 years	Up to 5 years
<i>refugees</i>	56.7%	73.3%	81.9%	87.0%	92.3%
<i>asylum seekers</i>	58.2%	76.6%	83.7%	88.9%	92.8%
<i>immigrants</i>	50.8%	68.8%	78.2%	83.5%	88.3%
<i>migrants</i>	62.3%	77.4%	86.1%	90.2%	94.7%

The vast majority of collocates were 'seasonal'.

Solution: *consistent collocates*

- Scott (1998: 97-98) uses the notion of *consistency* in relation to word lists and keywords: a *consistency analysis* shows the number of texts or sub-corpora that a word is found in.
- Collocates of *RASIM* were calculated for each annual sub-corpus.
- *Consistent collocates* were deemed those present in at least seven of the ten annual sub-corpora.
- C-collocates index core elements of meaning and semantic associations, and can point towards semantic/discourse prosodies.

Term	Ratio of c-collocates
<i>refugees</i>	7.7%
<i>asylum seekers</i>	4.5%
<i>immigrants</i>	8.9%
<i>migrants</i>	4.0%

Their consistency and low frequency render the existence of even a single c-collocation highly significant for the analysis.

C-collocates: Calculation

- ❑ Collocates calculated in each annual sub-corpus (using *WordSmith Tools*, Scott, 1999).
- ❑ Annual collocates tabulated, and c-collocates established manually.
- ❑ Category inclusion established through concordance analysis (expanded concordances up to whole texts).

- ❑ Span: ± 5 (within sentence boundaries).

- ❑ MI determines strength of collocation, but not statistical significance (McEney, 2005: 22).
- ❑ LL determines statistical significance.
- ⇒ Cut-off point for collocates in sub-corpora: $MI \geq 3$ **and** $LL \geq 6.63$ ($p \leq 0.01$).

- ❑ Minimum frequency of collocates: 5 (3 for *migrants*).
- ⇒ Minimum frequency of c-collocates: 35 (21 for *migrants*).

C-collocates: quantitative breakdown

- Total word forms: 152
- Shared c-collocates between *RAS* and *IM* 41 (27.0%)

- Content words: 135 (88.8%)
- Shared content c-collocates 32 (23.7%)

- Categorisable content words: 117 (86.7%)
- Shared categorisable content c-collocates 28 (23.9%)

- The vast majority of content c-collocates cluster around only 8 categories (Gabrielatos & Baker, 2006b, 2008: 21).

Definitions (1)

	Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English (2003)	Refugee Council
<i>refugee</i>	Someone who has been forced to leave their country, especially during a war, or for political or religious reasons.	Someone whose asylum application has been successful and who is allowed to stay in another country having proved they would face persecution back home.
<i>asylum seeker</i>	Someone who leaves their own country because they are in danger, especially for political reasons, and who asks the government of another country to allow them to live there.	Someone who has fled persecution in their homeland, has arrived in another country, made themselves known to the authorities and exercised the legal right to apply for asylum.
<i>immigrant</i>	Someone who enters another country to live there permanently.	-----
<i>migrant</i>	Someone who goes to live in another area or country, especially in order to find work.	[economic migrant] Someone who has moved to another country to work.

Definitions (2)

Dictionary definitions	Technical/legal definitions
<i>refugee</i> → <i>asylum seeker</i>	<i>asylum seeker</i> → <i>refugee</i>
A refugee need not be/become an asylum seeker.	A refugee has been an asylum seeker.

International Association for the Study of Forced Migration

- ***Forced migration***: refugees and asylum seekers
- ***Voluntary migration***: immigrants and (economic) migrants

Category	Definition and examples
Provenance / transit / destination	Used to refer to all forms of <i>RASIM</i> . Words referring to the country, region or continent that <i>RASIM</i> come from (provenance) e.g., Iran, Lebanon, Pakistan, Turkey, China; or the country, region or continent they want to go to (destination) e.g., UK, or the place that they temporarily stay, or are held, while waiting to be allowed go to their place of destination, or while waiting for their case to be decided (transit) e.g., France. As the same word may refer, in different texts, to more than one sub-category (e.g., <i>France</i> is both a country of destination and transit), these collocates were grouped together.
Number	Used mainly to refer to refugees, these are words denoting their large number (e.g., <i>flooding, pouring, streaming</i>).
Entry	Used mainly to refer to refugees, asylum seekers and migrants, these are verbs denoting entry to the country of destination/transit (e.g., <i>arrive, come, enter</i>), verbs denoting their journey (e.g., <i>cross</i>), verbs denoting their (illegal) attempts to enter (e.g., <i>trying</i>), verbs denoting their being in transit (e.g., <i>waiting</i>), or the place of entry (e.g., <i>borders, Dover</i>).
Economic problem	Mainly used on asylum seekers, immigrants and migrants, these are words denoting either that they are a financial burden, because they receive state benefits (e.g., <i>benefits, claiming, receive</i>), or a financial threat, because they compete for jobs with existing citizens (e.g., <i>jobs, working</i>).
Residence	Mainly used on refugees and asylum seekers, these are words denoting their residence during transit (e.g., <i>camp, shelter, temporary</i>), or in the destination country (e.g., <i>housed, settled</i>), or verbs used to express opposition to the latter (e.g., <i>allowed, granted</i>).
Return / repatriation	Mainly used on refugees and asylum seekers, these are words referring to <i>RASIM</i> returning, or being made to return, to their country (e.g., <i>back, refused, return, sent</i>)
Legality	Mainly used on asylum seekers and immigrants, these are words concerning the legal status of <i>RASIM</i> . They are either direct, that is, attributive (e.g., <i>bogus, genuine, illegal</i>), or indirect, that is, they imply their illegality (e.g., <i>caught, detained, smuggled</i>).
Plight	Mainly used to refer to refugees, these are words referring to the situations that necessitated their leaving their country (e.g., <i>fear, forced, persecution</i>), the manner of their leaving (e.g., <i>escape, fleeing</i>), their current/recent state (e.g., <i>displaced, homeless</i>), or their current needs (e.g., <i>aid</i>).

Plight

<i>refugees</i>	<i>asylum seekers</i>	<i>immigrants</i>	<i>migrants</i>
aid desperate displaced driven escape fear fighting fled flee fleeing forced homeless homes leave persecution torn	fled fleeing forced	fled [!]	fleeing [!]

Residence

<i>refugees</i>	<i>asylum seekers</i>	<i>immigrants</i>	<i>migrants</i>
<p>allowed asylum camp camps granted</p> <p>seek seeking settle settled shelter sheltering stay</p> <p>waiting</p>	<p>accommodation allowed</p> <p>granted housed housing live living</p> <p>stay temporary</p>	<p>living</p> <p>seeking [!] settle settled</p> <p>stay</p>	<p>allowed asylum [!]</p> <p>seeking [!]</p>

Return / Repatriation

<i>refugees</i>	<i>asylum seekers</i>	<i>immigrants</i>	<i>migrants</i>
allowed back refused return returned returning	refused sent	[!]	[!]

Shared c-collocates: Proportion (non-directional)

Pairs of terms		% of shared c-collocates
<i>immigrants</i>	<i>migrants</i>	59.0%
<i>asylum seekers</i>	<i>immigrants</i>	43.0%
<i>refugees</i>	<i>asylum seekers</i>	40.5%
<i>refugees</i>	<i>immigrants</i>	33.5%
<i>asylum seekers</i>	<i>migrants</i>	32.0%
<i>refugees</i>	<i>migrants</i>	28.0%

Shared c-collocates: proportion (directional)

↓	refugees	asylum seekers	immigrants	migrants
refugees		34%	33%	18%
asylum seekers	47%		46%	26%
immigrants	34%	40%		39%
migrants	38%	38%	79%	

Shared c-collocates: Categories

↓	refugees	asylum seekers	immigrants	migrants
refugees		ENTRY NUMBER ECON. BURDEN RETURN	ENTRY RESIDENCE	ENTRY
asylum seekers	ENTRY PLIGHT NUMBER RETURN		ENTRY LEGALITY PTD RESIDENCE	ENTRY
immigrants	ENTRY RESIDENCE PLIGHT NUMBER	ENTRY PLIGHT RESIDENCE LEGALITY		ENTRY ECON. THREAT
migrants	ENTRY RESIDENCE PLIGHT PTD	PLIGHT	PTD ENTRY RESIDENCE ECON. THREAT LEGALITY	

C-collocates indexing different categories: The case of *allowed*

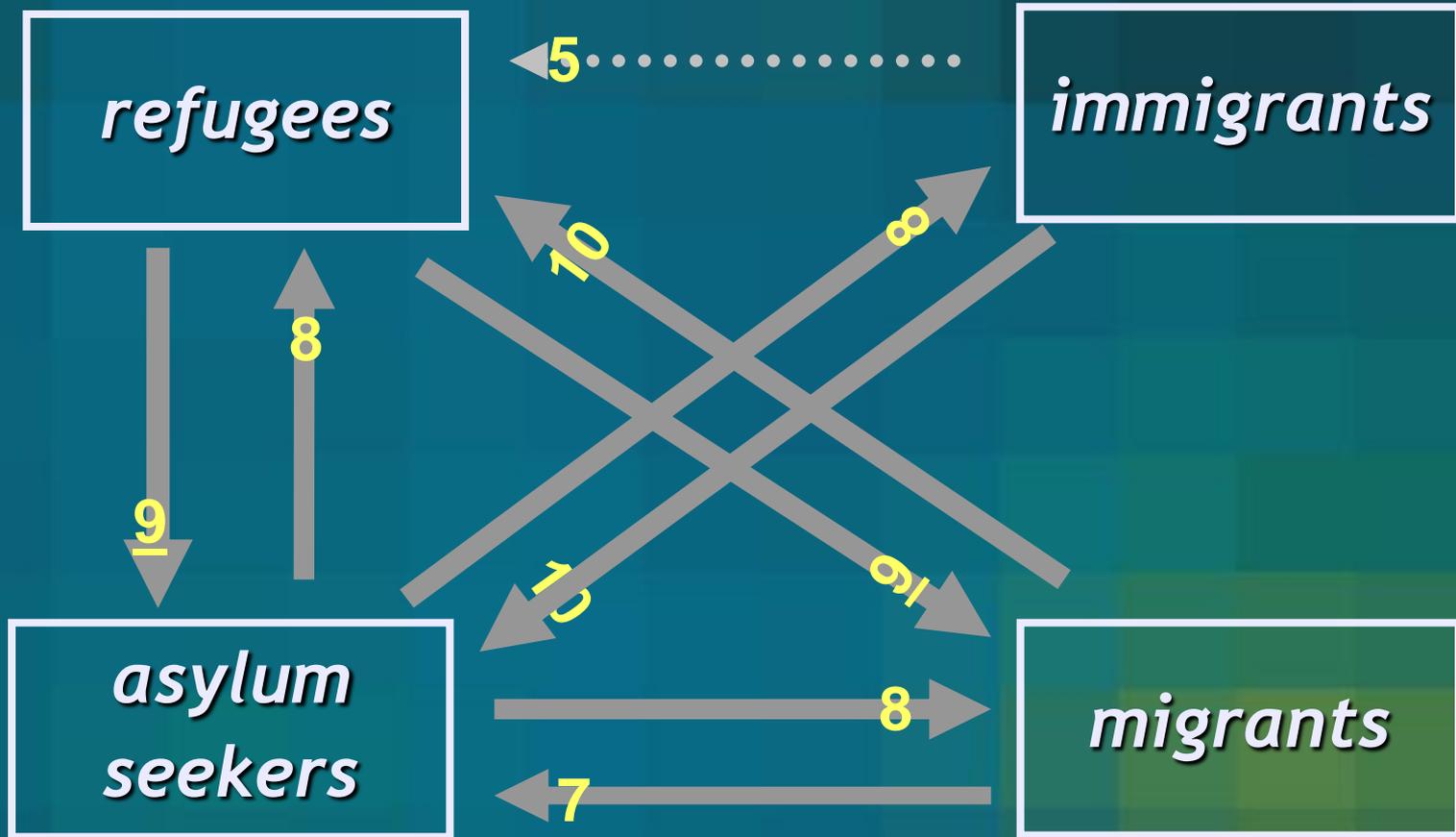
Entry	FRANCE finally closed a loophole yesterday which has <i>allowed</i> thousands of <i>illegal immigrants</i> to <i>sneak into</i> Britain on Eurostar trains. (<i>Daily Star</i> , 5 February 2002).
Residence	Jack Straw faced embarrassment last night as it emerged that almost one-third of new <i>asylum seekers</i> have been <i>allowed</i> to <i>remain in Britain</i> . (<i>Daily Mail</i> , 26 November 1998)
Economic burden / threat	<u>Burden</u> : But <i>illegal immigration</i> and <i>bogus asylum seekers</i> have been <i>allowed</i> to <i>pour</i> into Britain to <i>live off</i> our taxes. (<i>The Sun</i> , 21 April 2005). <u>Threat</u> : Job firms in the South have been inundated with pleas for <i>jobs</i> from <i>illegal migrants</i> who are <i>allowed</i> to work. (<i>Sunday Mirror</i> , 16 April 2000)
Return	Only a small number of refugees have been <i>allowed</i> to <i>return</i> home, and there has been muted progress in merging Serb-controlled areas with those of the Muslim-Croat federation. (<i>The Times</i> , 25 September 1997)

Shared c-collocates indexing interchangeable use of *RASIM*:

The case of *trying*

- English, Welsh and Scottish Railways (EWS) warned last night that it cannot, and will not, endure another six months of lost revenue - (pounds) 10m so far - arising from security problems caused by *asylum seekers* in France. EWS services to and from Europe have fallen by 60% since November because so many *refugees* are *trying* to board trains bound for Britain via the Channel tunnel. (*The Herald*, 7 May 2002)
- CHANNEL Tunnel security came under scrutiny last night after 44 *illegal immigrants* were intercepted *trying* to reach Dover. The desperate *asylum seekers* walked seven miles in complete darkness before being caught. (*The Mirror*, 31 August 2001)
- All the passengers were *illegal immigrants trying* to make their way to Greece. Survivors identified them as Pakistanis, Moroccans and Bangladeshis. Mr Dokuzoglu said Indian and Afghan *refugees* were also believed to be on board. (*The Guardian*, 2 January 2001)

Consistent intercollocations of *RASIM*



Figures indicate the number of annual sub-corpora in which terms intercollocate.

Intercolloations: Contexts

□ **Problem/issue** (here, economic problem):

A CRACKDOWN on London's black market jobs racket for **asylum seekers** and illegal **immigrants** will be launched today by David Blunkett as he unveils sweeping reforms of the immigration system. (*The Evening Standard*, 7 February 2002)

□ **Plight**

The scheme helps the homeless, **refugees** and **asylum-seekers**, young people leaving care, the elderly, and women fleeing domestic violence. (*Liverpool Daily Echo*, 26 August 2005)

□ **Scepticism about RAS being genuine**

Mr Blunkett must find a much faster way of sorting out genuine **refugees** from economic **immigrants**. (*The Express*, 5 September 2001)

□ **Confusion/conflation of use**

Gradually - very gradually - a policy solution seems to be emerging. Countries start by allowing entry to job-creating entrepreneurs. Then they admit workers with skills that are in short supply. They also accept, perhaps for a limited period, large numbers of unskilled workers needed to keep hospital floors swept and construction projects going. Then they allow in some **immigrants** who are genuine **asylum seekers**. (*The Times*, 30 July 2000)

A closer look

Examination of instances of *suffocated* and *drowned* in relation to RASIM.

Focus on the presentation of victims as 'illegal'.

Presentation was direct or indirect.

Direct

Through attribution by

- modification with the adjective *illegal*
- reference to the victims as *illegal cargo*.

In June, 58 **illegal immigrants** from China **suffocated** in the back of a lorry in Dover, after a journey across Europe" [*The Express*, Nov. 2000].

"A Dutch lorry driver was jailed for 14 years for killing 58 Chinese **immigrants** who **suffocated** in his trailer as he tried to smuggle them into Britain. Perry Wacker, 33, closed an air vent during the Channel crossing so that the ferry crew could not hear his **illegal cargo**" [*The Daily Mail*, June 2001].

Indirect

Through **framing** the report of the suffocation/drowning within ...

- references to *illegal immigrants* etc. in general;
- indirect references to ‘illegality’ – creating negative semantic prosodies (e.g. *suspected asylum seeker, sneak across the perilous straits*);
- references to *smuggling, trafficking, illegal entry/transport* etc.;
- references to problems with, or laxity of, the existing immigration system.

China is among the top four countries whose citizens are **sneaking in**. It does not want a repeat of such tragedies as the drowning last year in Morecambe Bay or in 2000 when 58 Chinese **suffocated in the back of a lorry** heading for Dover. [*The Times*, Sept. 2005].

The risks of **trafficking** were highlighted last summer by the deaths of 58 Chinese **immigrants** found **suffocated** in a Dutch-owned truck which arrived in Dover from Belgium. **Illegal immigration** is also expected to be high on the agenda of an Anglo-French summit in Cahors, southern France ... [*The Guardian*, Feb. 2001]

Overall picture

		T%	B%
Attribution [Direct]	<i>suffocated</i>	28.3	19.6
	<i>drowned</i>	36.2	23.3
Framing [Indirect]	<i>suffocated</i>	17.5	26.2
	<i>drowned</i>	17.2	15.8
TOTAL	<i>suffocated</i>	45.8	45.8
	<i>drowned</i>	53.4	39.0

Comments on *suffocated / drowned*

- There is no statistically significant difference in the proportion of negative presentation - which is very high in both groups (almost half of the reports).
- The only difference is that broadsheets seem to prefer to use indirect rather than direct negative presentation (though this, too, is not statistically significant).
- Both broadsheets and tabloids seem to try to project a humane face, while at the same time explicitly or implicitly communicating the notion that, since the victims were party to an illegal act, they were somehow (at least partly) responsible for their fate.

Conclusions

- The large proportion of shared c-collocates of *RASIM*, and the strong intercollocations of the four terms ...
 - indicate that these terms are used in the same contexts.
 - suggest overlap in their usage, and, in some cases, their use as near synonyms - i.e. no distinction is made between forced and voluntary migration
- The examination of expanded concordances of shared c-collocates ...
 - revealed further instances of conflation in the use of *RASIM*.
 - established that c-collocates index shared semantic/discourse prosodies.
- Discourses related to *RASIM* seem to revolve around a small number of categories, all but one denoting negative stance.
- Overall, c-collocates index the treatment of *RASIM* as a problem.

Sources (1)

- Baker, P. (2004). Querying keywords: Questions of difference, frequency, and sense in keywords analysis. *Journal of English Linguistics* 32(4), 346-359.
- Baker, P. (2006). *Using Corpora in Discourse Analysis*. London: Continuum.
- Baker, P., Gabrielatos C., KhosraviNik, M., Krzyzanowski, M., McEnery, T. & Wodak, R. (2008, in press). A useful methodological synergy? Combining critical discourse analysis and corpus linguistics to examine discourses of refugees and asylum seekers in the UK press. *Discourse & Society* 19(3), 273-305.
- Baker, P. & McEnery, A.M. (2005). A corpus-based approach to discourses of refugees and asylum seekers. *Journal of Language and Politics* 4(2), 197-226.
- Baker, P., McEnery, T. & Gabrielatos, C. (2007) 'Using Collocation Analysis to Reveal the Construction of Minority Groups: The Case of Refugees, Asylum Seekers and Immigrants in the UK Press', paper given at Corpus Linguistics 2007, University of Birmingham, 28–30 July 2007. Available at: <http://eprints.lancs.ac.uk/602/>.
- Bauer, L. & Nation, P. (1993). Word families. *International Journal of Lexicography* 6(4), 253–79.
- Gabrielatos, C. (2006). Towards quantifying 'quality' in the press: Comparing the stance of UK broadsheets and tabloids towards refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants. Paper presented at the joint meeting of the Corpus Research Group and the Language, Ideology and Power Research Group, Department of Linguistics and English Language, Lancaster University, 13 June 2006. Available at: <http://eprints.lancs.ac.uk/231>.
- Gabrielatos, C. (2007). Selecting query terms to build a specialised corpus from a restricted-access database. *ICAME Journal* 31, 5-43.
- Gabrielatos, C. & Baker, P. (2006a). Representation of Refugees and Asylum Seekers in UK Newspapers: Towards a corpus-based comparison of the stance of tabloids and broadsheets. Paper presented at the first international conference on Critical Approaches to Discourse Analysis Across Disciplines, University of East Anglia, UK, 29–30 June 2006. Available: <http://eprints.lancs.ac.uk/250/>.
- Gabrielatos, C. & Baker, P. (2006b). Representation of Refugees and Asylum Seekers in UK Newspapers: Towards a corpus-based analysis. Paper given at the joint annual meeting of the British Association for Applied Linguistics and the Irish Association for Applied Linguistics: From Applied Linguistics to Linguistics Applied: Issues, Practices, Trends, University College, Ireland, 7–9 September 2006. Available at: <http://eprints.lancs.ac.uk/265/>.
- Gabrielatos, C. & Baker, P. (2008). Fleeing, sneaking, flooding: A corpus analysis of discursive constructions of refugees and asylum seekers in the UK Press 1996-2005. *Journal of English Linguistics* 36(1), 5-38
- Greenslade, R. (2005). Seeking scapegoats: The coverage of asylum in the UK press. Asylum and Migration Working Paper 5. Institute for Public Policy Research.

Sources (2)

- Hunston, S. (2002). *Corpora in Applied Linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Koller, V. & Mautner, G. (2004). Computer applications in critical discourse analysis. In Coffin, C., Hewings, A. & O'Halloran, K. (eds). *Applying English Grammar: Functional and corpus approaches*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 216-28.
- Louw, B. (1993). Irony in the text or insincerity in the writer? The diagnostic potential of semantic prosodies. In Baker, M., Francis, G. & Tognini-Bonelli, E. (eds.) *Text and Technology: In honour of John Sinclair*, Philadelphia and Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 157-176.
- McEnery, T. (2005). *Swearing in English: Bad language, purity and power from 1586 to the present*. London: Routledge.
- Orpin, D. (2005). Corpus linguistics and critical discourse analysis: Examining the ideology of sleaze. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics* 10(1), 37-61.
- Reisigl, M. & Wodak, R. (2001). *Discourse and Discrimination: Rhetorics of racism and anti-semitism*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Sedlak, M. (2001). You really do make an unrespectable foreign policy. In Wodak, R. & van Dijk, T.A. (eds.) *Racism at the Top: Parliamentary discourses on ethnic issues in six European states*, 107-168.
- Sinclair, J.McH. (1991). *Corpus Concordance Collocation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Sinclair, J.McH. (1996). The search for units of meaning. *Textus* IX, 75-106.
- Sotillo, S.M. & Wang-Gempp, J. (2004). Using corpus linguistics to investigate class, ideology, and discursive practices in online political discussions: Pedagogical applications of corpora. In Connor, U. & Upton, T.A. (eds.) *Applied Corpus Linguistics*, 91-122.
- Scott, Mike. (2004). *Oxford WordSmith Tools Version 4*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Available online: <http://www.lexically.net/downloads/version4/wordsmith.pdf>
- Stubbs, M. (2001). *Words and Phrases: Corpus studies of lexical semantics*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- ter Wal, J. (2002). Racism and cultural diversity in the mass media: An overview of research and examples of good practice in the EU Member States, 1995-2000. European Research Centre on Migration and Ethnic Relations (ERCOMER).
- van der Valk, I. (2000). Parliamentary discourse on immigration and nationality in France. In Wodak, R. & van Dijk, T.A. (eds.) *Racism at the Top: Parliamentary discourses on ethnic issues in six European states*, 221-260.